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ABSTRACT

This document examines the causes and consequences of Black male joblessness. First, key insights and recommendations of a 1993 policy roundtable on labor force participation and family formation are summarized. Discussed next are the following issues related to the economic and social alienation of Black men: joblessness and absence from the labor force; structural economic changes and causes of nonwork (deindustrialization, increases in immigration, suburbanization); and education, skills, and unemployment. The following challenges to Black men in the labor force are described: criminal records, attraction of the underground economy, health and disability, and racial and cultural barriers. Finally, the following consequences of joblessness are considered: income differentials, decline in two-parent families, and increase in family poverty. Eleven tables/figures and an 88-item annotated bibliography are included. Appended are abstracts of the following papers commissioned for the policy roundtable: "Unwed Fathers and Paternity Establishment" (Barbara C. Cleveland); "Absence of Father. Effects on Children's Development and Family Functioning (Vivian Gadsden); "Labor Force and Income Status of African American Males: Policy Implications" (Robert Hill); "African American Males in the Criminal Justice System" (Jerome Miller); "Child Support Enforcement and Deteriorating Employment Prospects of Young Black Males" (Ronald B. Mincy); and "Unemployment. Mental Health and Substance Abuse: Joblessness and African American Men" (John Wilson, Jr.). (MN)

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WORLD WITHOUT WORK

Causes and Consequences of Black Male Joblessness

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Center for the Study of Social Policy

Philadelphia Children's Network

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Center for the Study of Social Policy

Washington, DC

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Philadelphia, PA

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PREFACE

The growing numbers and worsening plight of black children in single mother families constitute an especially worrisome but unavoidable price this nation pays for the chronic, persistent and even permanent joblessness of their fathers. This was a recurring theme and consensus conclusion of nearly 40 prominent researchers, advocates and policy analysts who gathered in late 1993 to discuss the relationship between family formation and workforce participation.

The occasion was a Policy Roundtable convened by the Center for the Study of Social Policy (CSSP) and the Philadelphia Children's Network (PCN). The participants spanned ideological, disciplinary and strategic perspectives. The agenda encouraged exploration of the various economic and social policy barriers that discourage fathers from becoming fully engaged in caring for, supporting and advocating on behalf of their children. As planned, the significance and consequence of sub par "workforce participation" was only one of the issues to be considered. Participants were invited to explore two hypotheses:

One, that the increased likelihood of family poverty and dependency; the increased involvement in the underground economy and thereby in the criminal justice system; and the impairment of functioning due to substance abuse and mental health problems are all brought on by persistent under-representation of black men in the labor force and constitute major obstacles to family formation; and

Two, that prevailing policies in the areas of public welfare, child support and paternity establishment exacerbate the situation caused by under-representation in the workforce and pose additional obstacles to developing stable, committed or other cooperative relationships that afford children the benefit of two parents who accept responsibility for caring for, supporting and advocating in their behalf.

From the outset, joblessness emerged as *the* issue. As seen by the participants, the corrosive nature and devastating consequences of joblessness on individuals, families and communities have combined to become an increasingly urgent and compelling reality which, if left unattended, will undermine even the most thoughtfully conceived, carefully constructed and conscientiously implemented policy reform agenda.

The willingness of Roundtable participants to devote significantly more time and attention to joblessness than to the broader policy reform agenda was not wholly unanticipated. Even in the early drafts of CSSP reports from the 1980's, the data on workforce participation and its impact on income were dramatic. By 1993, 43 percent of working age black men were not in the labor force. Mean income for African-American families in the lowest quintile *decreased* over 26 percent between 1971 and 1991. The significance of these data is compounded when it becomes clear that this lowest quintile of families includes a disproportionately large number of black children.

More than 50 percent of black children under six live in single never-married female-headed households. Among those children, 71.3 percent live below the poverty level. Twenty-five years after the baleful prognoses of the Kerner Commission, the dramatic differences between the well-being of black and white children underscore that ours truly has become two nations, separate and unequal.

To assist the Roundtable in its discussions, several commissioned papers addressed the consequences of labor force under-representation. (For a brief summary of the papers, see Appendix A.) These papers and the Roundtable discussions yielded critical insights and a number of recommendations which undergird the work in this monograph.

Policy reform is essential, but not sufficient. Broader workforce participation must be achieved. Prevailing policies and practice regarding paternity establishment, child support enforcement, and public assistance to families with dependent children do little to promote the enduring relationships between parents that children

need and deserve. Abdication of individual responsibility for personal development and participation in high-risk behaviors that place children at risk does account for some of what we see. Even so, were it not for the pervasive joblessness among African-American men, it is unlikely that even the most pernicious combination of poorly designed policies, bad practice and irresponsible behavior would produce statistics as devastating as those cited above.

Money matters. The inability to achieve self-sufficiency and therefore to contribute financially to one's offspring is a disincentive to fathering in a society that places little value on fathers' provision of other types of support, e.g., emotional support. This could certainly be related to the increase in black single mother families; with no income, these young men are not viewed as desirable prospects for an enduring co-parenting relationship.

Joblessness becomes self perpetuating. Joblessness becomes self-perpetuating when involvement in the underground economy brings increased exposure to the criminal justice system, which further reduces a young man's probability of participating in the workforce and becoming a desirable partner and father.

Work has meaning beyond its income generation possibilities. Work is valuable for development and maintenance of self-esteem, not only for monetary reasons. Thus, black male joblessness impacts not only the men themselves, but also deeply impacts the formation of the black family structure and relationships within it.

This monograph documents the scope and extent of joblessness among black males and seeks to identify among de-industrialization, immigration and suburbanization some of the structural explanations for the phenomenon that is joblessness. It explores some of the barriers to employment that black men face, including participation in the underground economy, racial and cultural differences, health and other individual capacity issues. Finally, it examines the consequences of joblessness for family formation and explores the effects of joblessness on income, poverty and the decline in two-parent families.

The data presented here portray a deepening crisis that has been building among black Americans for decades. Senator Patrick Moynihan first warned the public about the problem in the 1960's. The alarm was subsequently signaled by researchers several times in the 1980's, including a report by CSSP entitled "The Flip Side of Female-Headed Families: Black Adult Men." Now in the 1990's, this monograph shows that the trends have continued to accelerate. As a nation, we cannot afford to let the workforce participation of black men deteriorate further. Instead, we need a series of bold initiatives led by the federal government that reengages black men in the productive workforce and in the lives of their children.

Ralph Smith
Philadelphia, PA

Tom Joe
Washington, DC

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I THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ALIENATION OF BLACK MEN

The alarming rise in black families headed by single mothers, and its consequences for poverty among children, are subjects much talked about today in the press and on television and radio talk shows nationwide. Less often noted, however, is the disturbing "flip-side" of this phenomenon: the disappearance of black men from the productive workforce. By itself, the proportion of black men absent from the labor force is shocking, let alone when it is compared to that of white men. Statistics indicate that black men face markedly higher unemployment than whites and are significantly more likely to be absent altogether from the labor force.

A number of scholars have recently drawn attention to the fact that the economic and social isolation of black males may be strongly correlated with a variety of negative outcomes for the black population, among them the rise of single female-headed families, deepening poverty, increasing substance abuse and crime rates, decreasing levels of educational achievement, and high levels of health and mental health problems.

These associations underscore the importance of employment and economic self-sufficiency in the advancement of black men and the stabilization of black families. In addition, they suggest that the consequences of joblessness among black men are not limited to economic instability alone. Involvement in the workforce provides not only economic support, but also a meaningful identity and opportunities for socialization. Without these elements, black men may not only be isolated from the workplace, but also dislocated from the greater society as well.

Joblessness and Absence from the Labor Force

The sharp rise in joblessness among black males in the past three decades is one of the most serious problems facing the black community and American society as a whole. In 1993, a startling 43 percent of working age (ages 16-64) black men were not working. The sheer magnitude of this number is cause for alarm. Furthermore, despite the significant gains made by blacks since the civil rights movement, the disparity between the labor force status of blacks and whites continues to grow, especially among men.

Figure 1 shows the employment status of black and white men in 1993. The proportion of black men who were not gainfully employed is double that of white men. Forty-three percent of black men were either unemployed, out of the labor force, institutionalized, or their labor force status could not be determined (because they were missed in the 1990 decennial census) as compared to only 21 percent of white men. These statistics would be higher in inner-city urban areas where many blacks live and where unemployment is often particularly severe.

Two categories in Figure 1 reflect gainful employment: employed and in the military. In 1993, only 54.5 percent of working-age black men were employed, as compared to 77.6 percent of white men.[1] In contrast, a greater proportion of black than white men are in active duty in the military: 2.5 percent of black men compared to 1.5 percent of white men.[2] This may reflect the fact that fewer black men can find work in the labor force and thus turn to the armed forces for gainful employment.

Four categories shown in Figure 1 reflect non-work. These are: unemployed, out of the labor force, incarcerated, and undetermined labor force status due to the census undercount.

■ Individuals classified as unemployed include those who were actively seeking employment in the month prior to the census interview, but remained unable to find work. In December of 1993, 8.8 percent of all working-age black men were unemployed, compared to 5.3 percent of all working-age white men.[3]

■ Official unemployment rates alone do not convey the full extent of non-work

among black men, however, since they include only those individuals who are actively seeking work and do not count those "out of the labor force" because of disability, school attendance, or because they are discouraged and have given up looking for a job. In 1993, 20.6 percent of working-age black men were out of the labor force, compared to only 12.9 percent of white men.[4]

■ Neither unemployment nor labor force data include men in correctional facilities, who are also considered as "not working." This category — counted only in the decennial census — includes those in federal and state prisons, local jails, and other non-juvenile penal facilities. Using 1990 figures, 4.4 percent of all black men were in correctional facilities, compared to less than one percent (0.66 percent) of all white men.[5] The absolute number of black men in correctional facilities (469,451) was actually *higher* than the number of incarcerated white males (466,831), despite the fact that white males outnumber blacks in the general population by more than seven to one.

■ Finally, the Census Bureau's official count of the population misses a significant portion of black men due to undercounting. Analysis of demographic information from the 1990 Census shows that 996,000 black men and 1,498,000 white men aged 16-64 were not counted in the census.[6] This translates into a 2.1 percent undercount for white men and a 9.3 percent undercount for black men — a much higher proportion than for any other demographic group.[7] Studies performed by the Census Bureau indicate that these "missing" men likely have unstable or transient household attachments, and generally occupy marginal positions in the economy and in society, making it unlikely that their labor force status would match the distribution of the identified population.[8]

Taken together, these numbers paint a grim portrait of the employment status of black men in America. The enormous proportion of black men out of work has grave consequences not only for the men themselves, but also for their children, the women they live with or are married to, and for the whole of our society as well.

Structural Economic Changes and Causes of Non-Work

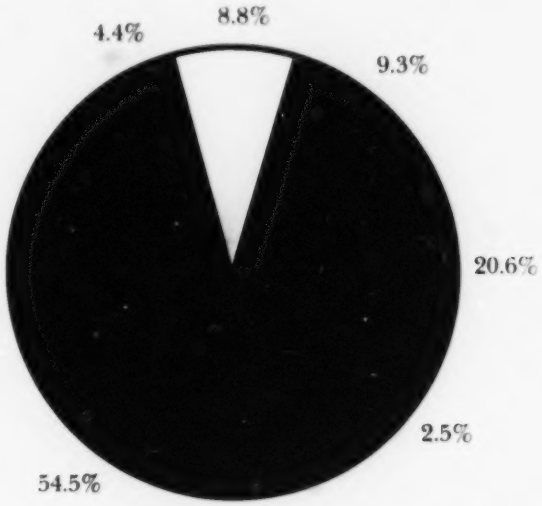
The disappearance of black men from the workforce is a consequence of fundamental changes in the U.S. economy and society that have affected, in varying degrees, the employment prospects of all Americans. Blacks have historically occupied a precarious position in the economy; as shown in Table 1, the unemployment rates of black men have consistently been at least twice the unemployment rates of white men. In addition, blacks have been severely affected by changes that occurred in the 1970's and 1980's, a period of high inflation, consecutive recessions, and major shifts in industry. The fact that the industries most affected by economic changes had high proportions of male workers, and that the workers last to be hired were often first fired, contributed to a "cyclical unemployment" among black men, who were particularly likely to lose their jobs.[9] Blacks were disproportionately affected by other structural economic changes as well, such as the influx in immigrants, the suburbanization of economic opportunity, and shifts in the type of available jobs.

At the same time, the legacy of unequal schooling has left a disproportionate number of blacks without the skills or education needed to advance in an economy driven by new technologies. These factors, combined with persistent racial and cultural barriers, high rates of involvement with the underground economy and criminal justice system, and pervasive substance abuse and chronic health problems, have hindered the full participation of black men in the labor force.

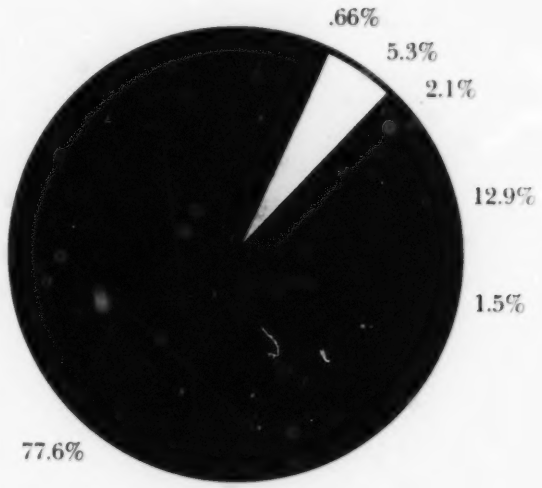
FIGURE 1

Components of U.S. Resident Population. 1993. Working-Age Men (Age 16-64)

BLACK, N = 10,719,349



WHITE, N = 70,369,217



Employed

Out of Labor Force

Military

Undetermined Status**

Unemployed

Institutionalized

**Undetermined status due to Census undercounts

SOURCE: See Text and Endnotes

TABLE 1

Unemployment Rates for Black and White Men (Numbers reflect percent of men 16 years and older in the civilian labor force)

Year	Unemployment Rate	
	Black Men	White Men
1948	5.8	3.4
1950	9.4	4.7
1955	8.8	3.7
1960	10.7	4.8
1965	7.4	3.6
1970	7.3	4.0
1980	14.5	6.1
1983	20.3	8.8
1985	15.3	6.1
1990	11.8	4.8
1993	13.8	6.2

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Employment and Earnings*, January 1994. Table 3, p. 186.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census. *The Black Population in the United States: March 1990 and 1989*, 1991. Table E, p. 9.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, September, 1975. Series D87-101, p. 135.

De Industrialization

The American economy has undergone tremendous shifts in its labor markets in the past three decades. As global markets have pushed production to less costly labor markets abroad, technology and trade have forced the downsizing of the manufacturing economy of the past. Since 1979, the U.S. manufacturing sector has shrunk rapidly, ceding an ever larger share of the economy to service industries.[10]

While de-industrialization and accompanying changes in the economy affected many Americans, they had a disproportionate effect on the place of black men in the labor force. In part this is because the manufacturing industries that experienced the greatest job losses were those in which black male workers were over-represented, such as auto, steel, and rubber.[11] For example, in 1973, 37.5 percent of employed black males ages 20-29 were employed in the manufacturing sector; by 1987 only 20 percent were in the manufacturing sector.[12]

The manufacturing industry, which once provided relative prosperity for a broad middle class of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, has been replaced by a service economy that has increasingly generated either low paying jobs without benefits, or higher paying jobs that demand advanced education and skills.[13] Workers without such education or skills are typically left with low-paying, "low-skill" jobs that lack benefits.[14] Even in traditional low-skill industries, the number of workers with college degrees has nearly doubled since 1968.[15] One study of employment in urban areas indicates that since 1970, major cities of the Northeast and Midwest have experienced significant declines in the number of jobs requiring only a high school education or less, while the number of jobs requiring some form of higher education has increased (see Table 2).[16] This shift in the educational needs of the labor market has significantly impacted black male labor force participation as a far larger proportion of black men do not have college degrees when compared to white men (see Section entitled Education, Skills and Unemployment and Table 3).

Increases in Immigration

As employment opportunities for low-skilled urban workers have declined, trends in immigration in recent years increase the competition for these disappearing positions. Black males often fare poorly in this competition.

Between 1981 and 1990, over 7.3 million immigrants were legally admitted to the United States — a figure almost equal to the total number of immigrants admitted between the years 1931 and 1970.[17] The number of arrivals accelerated in the late 1980's: in 1990 alone, over 1.5 million immigrants entered the United States, more than one-half of whom came from Mexico and Central America.[18] Because many immigrants have limited education and English language ability,[19] they compete for low-skilled jobs, the same jobs often sought by urban black males.

While research suggests that the impact of immigration on the black labor force as a whole is negligible, immigration does negatively impact less-skilled black workers and black workers that live in areas with stagnant economies and large immigrant populations.[20] Blacks are also negatively impacted by immigration during economic recessions.[21] In addition, while immigration increases the percentage of employed persons overall, it reduces the weekly earnings of less-skilled black persons.[22] Finally, research shows that some employers prefer to hire immigrants over blacks for low-skilled jobs.[23]

Suburbanization

Shifts in the labor market and increases in the value of schooling and basic skills have been accompanied by equally dramatic changes in the nation's economic geography. The movement of jobs away from central cities has accelerated in the past two decades, leaving those areas largely isolated from opportunities for economic

TABLE 2

Number of Central City Jobs, in Industries Classified by Average Educational Attainment of Employees

City/Class of Industry by Average Education Attainment of Employees	Number of Central City Jobs in Each Industry Class (thousands)			Percent Change
	1959	1970	1984	1959 1984
New York				
Less than high school	1449	1445	953	-34.2
Some higher education	682	1002	1241	82.0
Philadelphia				
Less than high school	434	396	224	-48.4
Some higher education	135	205	244	80.7
Boston				
Less than high school	176	168	124	-29.6
Some higher education	117	185	252	115.4
Baltimore				
Less than high school	215	187	114	-47.0
Some higher education	59	90	105	78.0
St. Louis				
Less than high school	207	197	108	-47.8
Some higher education	61	98	96	57.4

NOTE: In this tabulation, jobs in central cities are counted by industry, and classified according to the average educational attainment of employees in each industry. Although this does not fully represent the education requirements of each industry, it is the best proxy available to illustrate the shifts over time.

SOURCE: John D. Kasarda, "America's Urban Dilemma," in *The Metropolis Era: A World of Giant Cities*, edited by Mattei Dogan and John D. Kasarda (New York: Russell Sage, 1988), p.70. Additional calculations by the Center for the Study of Social Policy.

growth. This trend has dramatically affected the economic plight of urban blacks. Between 1976 and 1986, for instance, 20 of the nation's largest metropolitan areas — including Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, and Los Angeles — had at least three-quarters of their employment growth occur outside of urban centers. In some areas, the growth in suburban jobs exceeded the growth of the suburban population, often by a factor of three or more.[24]

Despite the growth of suburban employment opportunities, most blacks live in urban areas. According to the 1990 Census, 58 percent of all blacks lived in the central city of an urbanized area, compared to only 26 percent of whites.[25] It has been suggested that blacks remain confined in urban areas for a variety of reasons, among them limited mobility and persistent residential segregation.[26]

Cumulatively, the shifts in the types of jobs available, dramatic increases in immigration and the movement of jobs outside the central city have left many black men outside the mainstream labor force. The fact that 43 percent of all working-age black men are not employed may be at least partially explained by these national exogenous forces.

Education, Skills, and Unemployment

Educational achievement among African Americans continues to lag behind that of all other racial and ethnic groups, despite numerous examples of individual accomplishments under segregated circumstances. Inadequate preparation in unequal schools and continued racial prejudice have trapped more than a third of African Americans in a cycle of poverty.... Shirley McBay, "The Condition of African American Education: Changes and Challenges" in *The State of Black America 1992*[27]

The demographic and workforce changes discussed above have accentuated the value of skills acquired through formal education as criteria for success in the job market; many workers who lack such skills have found their employment opportunities and earnings ability severely restricted.

Blacks have made great strides in education in the past three decades. By 1990, black youth were as likely as whites to be enrolled in school and nearly as likely to graduate from high school.[28] In 1965, only 50 percent of black males compared to 73 percent of white males aged 25-29 had graduated from high school. By 1991, this gap had virtually closed: 83.5 percent of black males and 85.1 percent of white males had graduated from high school. Despite this gain, black males remained only half as likely as their white peers to complete four or more years of college. In 1991, only 11.5 percent of black males ages 25-29 had completed four years of college, compared to 24.1 percent of white males in that age group (see Table 3).[29]

Advances made by blacks in high school completion rates have been offset by the diminishing value of a high school education in the labor market. A high school diploma alone, in the absence of higher education, no longer assures passage to middle-class security, and is only marginally helpful in black youths' search for employment. In 1991, for instance, young black high school *graduates* were only slightly more likely to be employed than were young white high school *dropouts*: 57 percent as compared to 51 percent.[30]

The value of a high school diploma is further diminished by inconsistencies in the quality of education provided to youth. Gross disparities between urban and suburban schools, and between individual schools in the same districts, have made a high school diploma alone an inadequate measure of skill competency.[31] As a result, school completion rates do not provide an accurate portrait of the disparity in education between blacks and whites.

TABLE 3

Trends in Educational Attainment of 25 to 29-Year-Olds, by Race, 1965-1989 (Percent)

Attainment, Year	Black Males	White Males
Completed 4 years of high school or more		
1965	50.3	72.7
1970	54.5	79.2
1975	72.2	85.7
1980	74.8	86.8
1985	80.8	84.4
1989	80.6	84.8
1990	81.5	84.6
1991	83.5	85.1

Attainment, Year	Black Males	White Males
Completed 4 years of college or more		
1965	7.3	16.4
1970	6.7	21.3
1975	11.4	26.3
1980	10.5	25.5
1985	10.3	24.2
1989	12.0	24.8
1990	15.1	24.2
1991	11.5	24.1

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-20, No. 451, Table 18; CPS Series P-20, No. 462, Table 18.

Racial differences in performance between black and white students are stark across all subject areas and grades, with the most severe gaps between black and white males. For example, black male students were over twice as likely as their white peers to fall two or more grades behind the modal grade in school; in 1990 over 10 percent of black male students ages 10-13 were two or more grades behind, compared to only 4 percent of white male students.[12]

Disparities also exist between the measured skill levels of black and white students. Results of the 1990 survey of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) indicated that only 12 percent of black male twelfth graders, compared to 40 percent of white males, could "find, understand, summarize, and explain relatively complicated literary and informational material." In the same year, only 20 percent of black male and 54 percent of white male twelfth graders could compute decimals, simple fractions, and percents.[13] Thus, while the rate of high school completion is comparable among blacks and whites, alarming disparities in skill levels remain prevalent among high school graduates.

II CHALLENGES TO BLACK MEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Criminal Records

The overriding reality is that long term imprisonment as the sanction of choice has grown exponentially as the proportion of blacks being arrested has increased. Prison and jail populations have skyrocketed apparently not so much in response to increases in violent crime, as to the fact that those being arrested are increasingly black or brown. As the color of the arrestee (for what ever crime) gets darker, the sentences get longer, and the political rhetoric more strident. Jerome Miller, National Center of Institutions and Alternatives[14]

While education and skill deficits are formidable barriers to employment for many young black men, involvement with the criminal justice system presents an even greater problem for many youth, inflicting enormous damage on their employment prospects. A 1989 study reported that on any given day nearly one of four — 23 percent — of black men between the ages of 20 and 29 were either in prison, jail, on probation, or on parole.[15] A 1992 study of black males in Washington, D.C. concluded that 70 percent of young black men living in Washington would be arrested and jailed at least once before reaching age 35, with a lifetime risk of up to 80 to 90 percent.[16]

The growing black prison population reflects these statistics: the proportion of black inmates in state and federal prisons (95 percent of them men) has increased from 21 percent in 1926 to an estimated 49 percent in 1991 (see Table 4). This tremendous increase took place in a period of time in which prison populations grew exponentially while the racial composition of the general population remained roughly constant.[17]

Between 1980 and 1992 alone, rates of incarceration of black men more than doubled, rising from 1,111 incarcerated black men per 100,000 in the population in 1980 to 2,678 per 100,000 in 1992. Rates of incarceration among white males rose as well, but the absolute figures were significantly lower: in 1980, 168 white males were incarcerated per 100,000 in the population, rising to 372 incarcerated white males per 100,000 in 1992.[18]

Contrary to public perception, the vast majority of arrests of black men are for non-violent offenses.[19] For a large segment of young black men — perhaps the majority in urban areas — arrest and incarceration have become a modern rite of passage.[20] But while such experience may bring an adolescent peer recognition, it later leads to ostracism from the labor market and other segments of society. Men with criminal or prison records may find themselves viewed as undesirable, both as workers and as husbands.[21] This ostracism — especially when coupled with low levels of social support and skill — may in turn feed a continuing cycle of self-destructive behavior and crime.

Incarceration not only affects the male inmate, but has far reaching economic, social, and psychological repercussions on the man's family. Upon incarceration, any income the man may have been able to earn ceases. Wives, girlfriends and children may feel the emotional anxiety, stress and abandonment that often accompanies imprisonment of a family member. In short, the imprisonment of black males strains the entire structure of the black family.

The Attraction of the Underground Economy

As a result of changes in the labor force, large numbers of African American men find themselves unemployed with little or nothing society deems as productive to do. Many of them have resorted to such alternative methods of survival as drug dealing, panhandling, or hustling odd jobs. John Wilson, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies[22]

TABLE 4

Percent of State and Federal Prison Admissions by Race, 1926-1992

Year	White	Black	Other
1926	79	21	1
1930	77	22	1
1935	74	25	1
1940	71	28	1
1945	68	31	1
1950	69	30	1
1960	66	32	2
1964	65	33	2
1974	59	38	3
1978	58	41	1
1981	57	42	1
1986*	40	45	15
1991**	35	49	16

* When Hispanic inmates were broken out in 1986, the percentage of white inmates dropped precipitously.

** Estimated

SOURCE: Miller, J. (1993). "African-American Males in the Criminal Justice System."

Shifts in the economy and the difficulty of finding work have contributed to the widespread participation among black men in underground — or "informal" — economies. Many low-income minority communities have come to rely heavily on informal economies as a means of supporting their families when they are unable to find "decent" jobs. The activities of informal economies range from income generated from a child's babysitting job, to "under the table" labor work (such as construction or garment manufacturing), to a range of illegal activities such as robbery, drug dealing, or other organized crime.[45]

Participation in the underground economy is often a response to limited opportunities in the formal economy. As the legal economy has become increasingly inaccessible to black men, they have become more dependent on informal economies both as an important source of revenue as well as for a sense of self-esteem.[44] In fact, some scholars have suggested that among black males, participation in informal economies carries little stigma. Those who have earned money and prestige, even through illegal activities, are role models to younger blacks and have replaced the hard worker, who labors for hours each day only to bring home a meager paycheck.[45] As Hagan notes:

> ... These youth have substituted investment in subcultures of youth crime and delinquency for involvement in a dominant culture that makes limited structural or cultural investment in their futures. Their subcultural adaptations are investments for short-term economic gains.[46]

Black youths' lack of legitimate opportunities for success is alone sufficient to cause despair. The sense of hopelessness is reinforced by the threat of an early and violent death for a significant number of black men. Homicide is the leading killer of black males aged 15 to 24 and the second leading killer of black males aged 25-44.[47] All of these factors can contribute to a lack of faith in a future, which may further the tendency to engage in illegal activities.

Health and Disability

Unable to realize their roles as providers, some African American men have come to rely on alcohol and drugs to relieve the anxiety and depression that accompanies their sense of uselessness. John Wilson, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies[48]

The ability of black men to participate in the labor force is also limited by high levels of disability, health, mental health, and substance abuse problems in the black population. These problems — which are often further exacerbated by a lack of health insurance — may be a significant factor in the weak labor force attachment of many black men.[49]

A significant portion of black men are not working due to health reasons. For example, 18 percent of young black males (ages 20-29) with no paid employment during 1992 reported that illness or disability was their "main reason" for not working. Among sub-groups of the population, these rates are even higher: 26.6 percent for black high school dropouts, 21.9 percent for black high school graduates, and only 2.4 percent of blacks who had received some college education.[50]

In general, young black males are significantly more likely than their white counterparts to not be working due to health problems or disabilities. For example, 5 percent of 20-29 year old black men reported that they could not work at all in 1992 — or could not work or look for work on a year round basis — due to an illness or disability. This ratio was twice that for white men ages 20-29 (2.6 percent). In 1992, fully 8 percent of black men ages 20-62 did not work due to health related reasons.[51]

TABLE 5

Deaths per 100,000 Resident Population in 1991

	Heart Disease	Homicide	Aids
Black Males	272.7	72.5	52.9
White Males	196.1	9.4	16.7

SOURCE: National Center for Health Statistics, *Health, US, 1993*, Tables 42, 48, and 51.

Black men are particularly vulnerable to health problems. The National Center for Health Statistics reports that black men are the most likely to die from heart disease, homicide and AIDS. Black male mortality rates for these killers are far higher than those for white males (see Table 5).[32]

The prevalence of health problems among black men may be at least partly due to their low rates of insurance coverage, since health conditions among the uninsured are likely to go untreated until they have progressed to severe or chronic stages. In 1993 only 53 percent of black men ages 20-29 had health insurance as compared to 71 percent of white men in the same age group. Forty-three (43) percent of these young white men had employer-provided insurance, as compared to only 27 percent of young black men. For black high school dropouts, the figure drops to 18 percent.[33]

A number of studies have suggested that both substance abuse (especially heavy drinking and alcoholism) and clinical depression are major problems among the black community.[34] Black males in particular may be at high risk for developing severe problems; they tend to become heavy drinkers and their mental health problems are often unaddressed until after their health has significantly deteriorated.[35]

Within the black population the highest incidence of mental disorders occurs for young men ages 15-24, who are hospitalized at a rate of 509 per 100,000; this compares to 213 per 100,000 for white males. Black females are hospitalized at a rate of 248 per 100,000 and white females at 110 per 100,000. As a group, blacks under 44 years of age are hospitalized at three times the rate of whites in the same age group.[36]

There is a different pattern of suicide between black and white males as well. Black males are more likely to end their lives as they are entering adulthood, the prime period for entry into the labor force and beginning a career. White males, on the other hand, are more likely to end their lives at the end of their careers.[37]

Racial or Cultural Barriers

Little empirical evidence exists in the research literature to explain the impact of racial or cultural barriers on employment. Few would argue, however, that racial discrimination does play a part in contributing to the underemployment of black men. Many employers view black men as dishonest, lazy, and poorly educated. The high rates of incarceration among black men, their participation in the underground economy, their lower skill and college education levels — all these factors reinforce fears and the worst stereotypes. Cumulatively, these images perpetuate the cycle of institutional racism.

The restructuring of the economy will continue to compound the negative effects of perceptions of inner-city black males. Because of the increasing shift to service industries, employers have a greater need for workers who can effectively serve and relate to the consumer. Black males are not perceived to have such qualities. William Julius Wilson[58] **In fact, interviews of a representative sample of Chicago-area employers ... show that many consider inner-city blacks – especially young black males – to be uneducated, unstable, uncooperative, and dishonest.** William Julius Wilson[59]

III CONSEQUENCES OF JOBLESSNESS

Income Differentials

White men with less education have earnings that are equal to or greater than black men with more education. Robert Hill, Institute for Urban Research, citing U.S. Bureau of the Census data[60]

Fundamental shifts in the economic landscape have left a disproportionate number of black men unprepared for the labor force, unable to work, without a job, or with only part-time or low-paying jobs. These conditions have not only left black men under represented in the workforce, but have resulted in the structural displacement of black men from the mainstream economy altogether. Comparisons of black and white incomes reflect the deepening poverty in the black community, and highlight the growing disparity between the incomes of blacks and whites as well as between various segments within the black community itself.

Real annual earnings are a good indicator of the economic well-being of young black men. After nearly three decades of progress in improving the real earnings and incomes of young males and their families, the disparity between blacks and whites once again began to grow in the 1970's and 1980's.[61] Of all demographic subgroups, young men (ages 20-29) suffered the largest absolute and relative declines in annual earnings since 1973; within this group, young black males — particularly those with little or no formal schooling — have fared the worst.[62]

The relative decline in real earnings for black men was 24 percent, compared to 14 percent for whites. Between 1973 and 1989, the mean earnings of black male high school dropouts fell by nearly one-half compared to only one-third for white male high school dropouts. The earnings of black male high school graduates fell by one-third compared to one-fifth for white male high school graduates, and the earnings of black male college graduates fell by 16 percent compared to a slight increase (.3 percent) in real earnings among white male college graduates (see Figure 2).[63]

Part of the source of declines in mean real annual earnings may be the rise in the proportion of men who did not work at all in any given year. Almost one in five young black men reported zero earnings in 1992 compared to less than one in 13 white males. This included 32 percent of black male high school dropouts who had no earnings at all compared to 14 percent of white male high school dropouts; 16 percent of black male high school graduates compared to 5 percent of their white peers; and 9 percent of black males with some college education compared to 3 percent of white males with some college education.[64]

Many of the blacks who did report earnings reported very low wages. In 1990, 22.4 percent of black men who worked full-time for the entire year earned wages below $12,195, that year's poverty threshold for a family of four. For white full-time male workers, the figure was 13 percent. The proportion of men with low earnings has increased dramatically since 1974, when only 13.8 percent of black male full-time workers had low earnings by this definition.[65]

These trends clearly have implications for differential family income levels. A disaggregation of family income by quintiles for blacks and whites reveals disturbing imbalances and diverging trends (see Table 6 and Figures 3 and 4).[66] Although income inequality has increased dramatically for the United States as a whole, this gap is substantially greater for blacks.[67] (We define income inequality as the distance between the earnings of the highest and lowest quintiles of earners.) For example, the top fifth of black families has made remarkable gains, with income growth approaching that of the highest-income whites. At the same time, however, the lower two quintiles of black families have experienced significant economic decline.

From 1971 to 1991, the mean income of the top fifth of black families increased by 24.6 percent, a figure which was close to the 27.4 percent increase for the top fifth of white families. The mean income for the bottom quintiles of blacks, however, decreased by 26.2 percent; the mean income for the bottom quintiles of whites *increased* 4.3 percent in the same period of time.[68]

These figures indicate that the average black family in the second quintile had about the same income as the average white family in the lowest *quintile* (see Table 6). The typical family in the bottom income quintile for blacks had an income of only $4,369 in 1991, putting them at only 39 percent of the federal poverty standard, taking into account cash income and family size.[69] These circumstances are reflected in the nation's 1992 poverty rates: 33.3 percent of all blacks were poor, compared to only 11.6 percent of whites.[70]

The income disparity within the black community is equally stark. While the highest quintile of black families had a mean income of $65,286 in 1991, the mean income of the bottom quintile of black families was approximately one-fifteenth this sum (at $4,369).

Decline in Two-Parent Families

As long as young (black) men continue to be marginalized ... the prospects for increasing the share of black families with male heads seems remote. Strengthening female-headed families, while obviously beneficial in the short run, offers little hope for reducing the earnings gap further. Since the culprit in this link remains the deteriorating position of young black males with little training or education beyond high school, the solution must lie in salvaging what otherwise could be a lost generation of men. William Darity and Samuel Myers, "Racial Earning Inequality Into the 21st Century" in *The State of Black America 1992*[71]

The relationship between the economic well-being of black men and the stability of the black family is complex and, most likely, reciprocal. Some theorists have speculated that the increasing economic instability of black males has reduced their ability and willingness to form independent households and to marry.[72] Others have noted that nonresident fathers are more involved with their children when they can provide financial support, but may choose to terminate contact with the child when economic stresses increase.[73] The connection between the disappearance of black men from the workforce and the simultaneous rise of poor, single-mother families, however, remains for the most part unaddressed in discussions about the decline in two-parent families and increase in family poverty within the black community.

The correspondence between black male joblessness and the rise of female-headed households is striking. Between 1960 and 1992, the same period of time in which joblessness among black men was rising, the number of black female-headed households more than doubled, reaching over 46 percent of all families by 1992. While the number of white female-headed families also increased dramatically during this time, they represented a far smaller proportion of the overall white population (13.5 percent in 1992).[74]

Research suggests an association between income and the likelihood of marriage for all races. The high proportion of blacks in low-income situations, however, makes this trend particularly relevant. Among black men, only 5 percent of those in the bottom income quintile were married, compared to 47 percent of black men in the uppermost income quintile.[75] In 1987, only 3 percent of black men (ages 18-39) with no earnings were married. The percentage of married men increases to 7 percent among black men with annual earnings of $1,000 to $5,000, to 29 percent for those with earnings between $15,000 and $20,000, and to over 50 percent for those with annual earnings over $20,000.[76]

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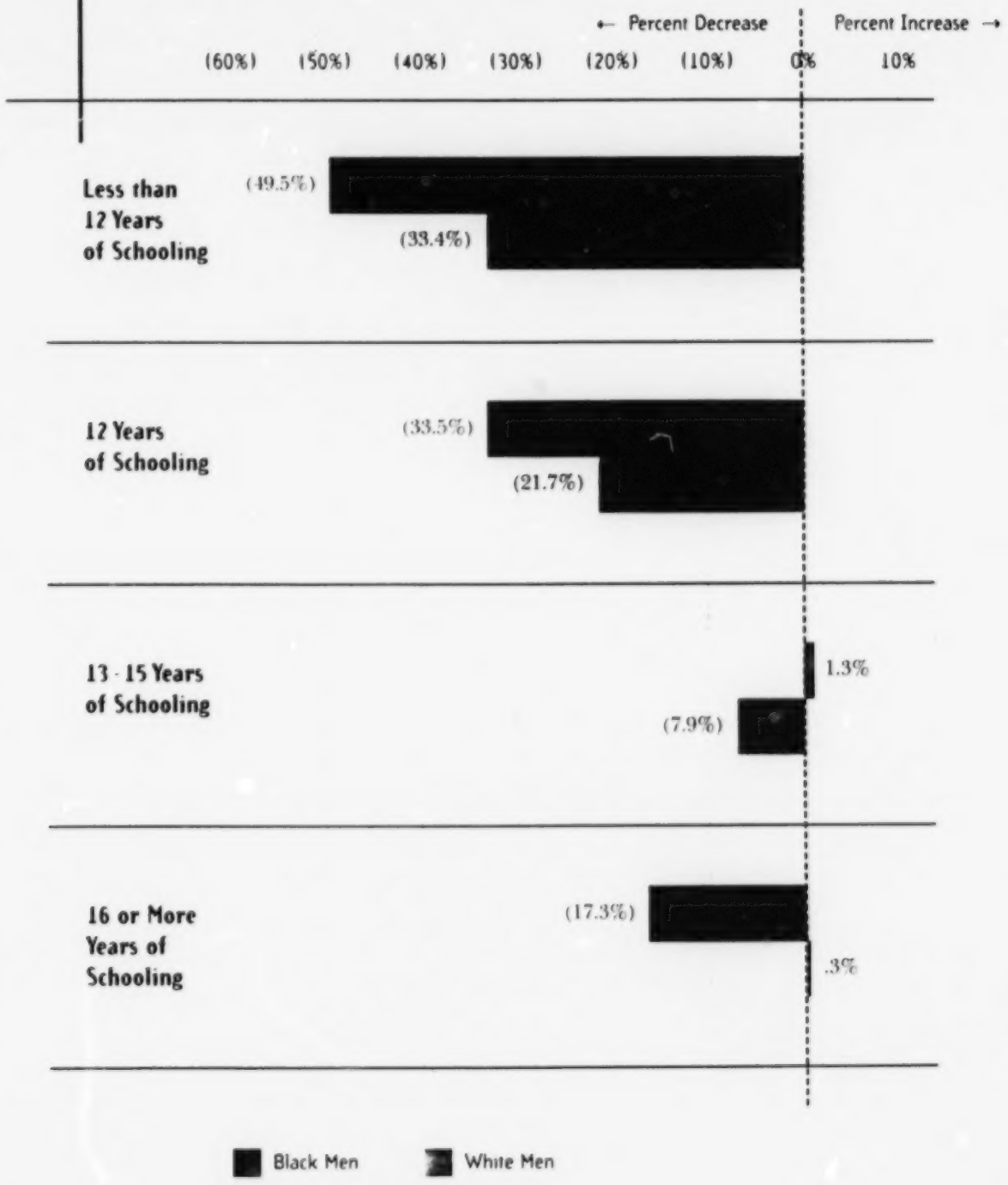
FIGURE 2

Percent Change in Annual Earnings of 20-29 Year Old Men, By Years of Schooling, 1973-1989



SOURCE: Sumn, Fogg, Fogg, and Williams, 1991.

FIGURE 3

Mean Income of Families by Income Quintile, 1991

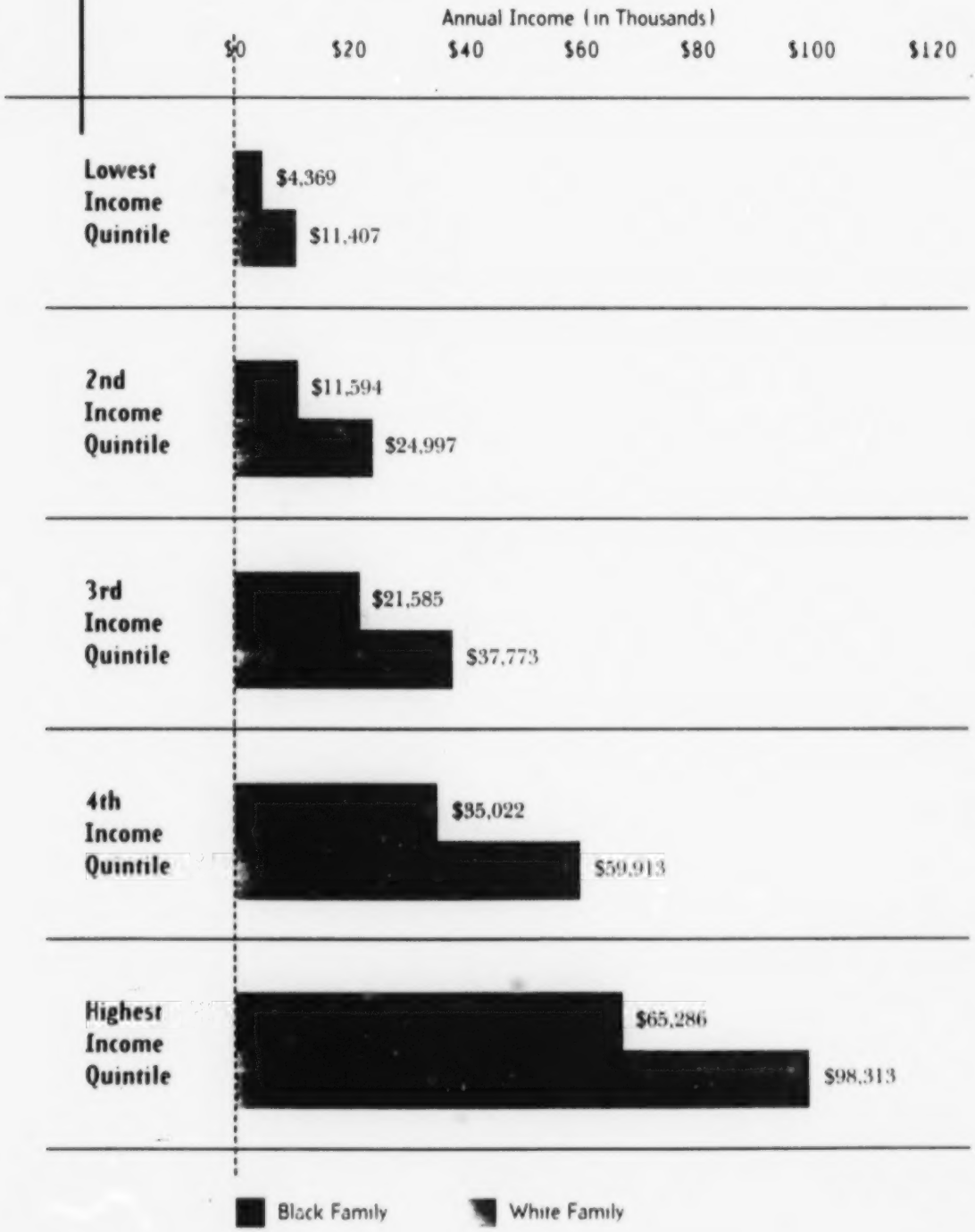
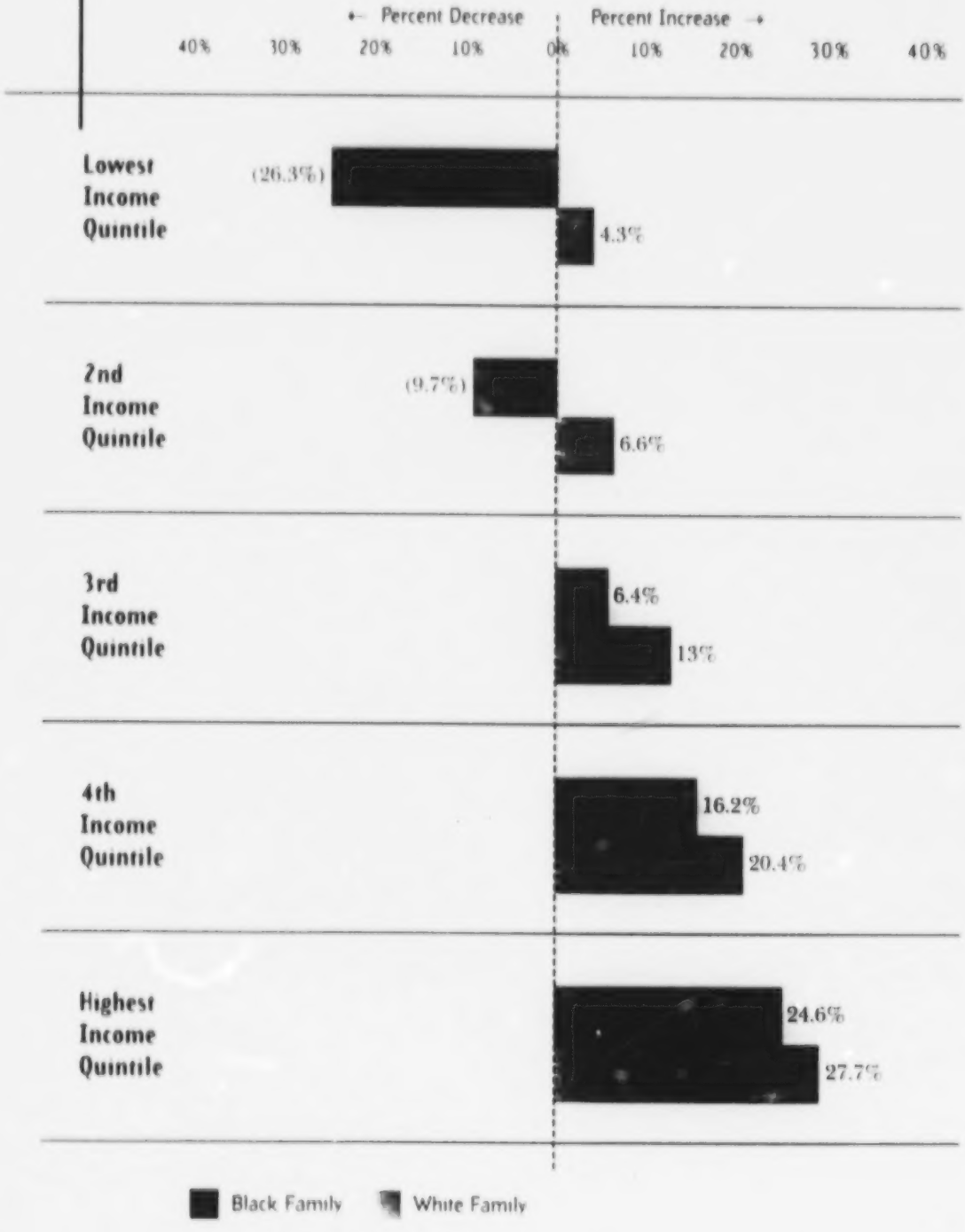


FIGURE 4

Changes in Mean Income of Families by Income Quintile, 1971 to 1991



SOURCE: CPS Series P-60, No. 180, Table B-7

At the same time, fewer black adults are marrying than ever before. While the last 20 years have seen an increase in the number of never-married adults in all races and age groups, the rate of change is greatest among blacks.[77] Between 1970 and 1991, the percentage of black adults who never married rose from 20.6 percent to 37.1 percent — an increase of 80 percent. The equivalent increase among whites was only 32 percent, from 15.6 percent to 20.5 percent.[78]

The increase in female-headed households and decrease in marriage rates have been accompanied by a dramatic rise in the rate of out-of-wedlock births. For example, in 1960 the chances of a black child being born to an unmarried woman was about one in five (22 percent), while the chance of a white child being born to an unmarried woman was about one in fifty (2.3 percent). By 1990 these figures had risen to over three in five (65 percent) for black children, compared to one in five (20 percent) for whites.[79] Thus, while out-of-wedlock births among whites have increased at a rapid pace, the rate of out-of-wedlock births among blacks remains three times that for whites.

Increase in Family Poverty

The problems associated with father absence become acute for families that have been victimized by chronic, intergenerational poverty, particularly African American and other families of color that are equally victimized by discrimination. In short, the loss of income resulting from father absence reduced the capacity of single parents to be supportive, consistent, and involved in child rearing. Vivian Gadsden, National Center on Adult Literacy[80]

Increases in black single-mother families, combined with the economic disenfranchisement of numerous black men, has contributed to an explosion of black families living in poverty. By 1991, over 55 percent of black children lived in female-headed households, compared to only 16 percent of white children.[81] Of all black children living in homes headed by a single woman, an astonishing 68.2 percent lived in poverty, and this figure jumps to 71.3 percent for children under age six.[82]

Black two-parent families have made dramatic economic gains in the past two decades: the median income of black married-couple families rose 51 percent between 1967 and 1992 — from $22,626 to $34,196 in 1992 dollars. In contrast, the median income of single-mother families rose only 2.6 percent and remained much lower: it was $11,653 in 1967 (translated into 1992 dollars) and $11,956 in 1992.[83] Of the 1.56 million black children whose families had incomes below $5,000 in 1991, almost 90 percent — 1.4 million — lived in single-mother families.[84]

Table 7 shows the changes in the median incomes of female-headed families and married-couple families from 1967 to 1992. Black married-couple families made the greatest gains (51 percent as noted above.) But their median income was still only $34,196, approximately the level for white married-couple families in 1967 ($33,351). By 1992, white married-couple median income had risen to $42,738. In contrast, white female-headed families made greater income gains than black female-headed families over the same period. The median income for black single-mother families stayed virtually constant ($11,653 in 1967 and $11,956 in 1992) while the comparable figure for white single-mother families rose 6.7 percent (from $18,857 to $20,130.)

Father absence has a variety of additional effects that go beyond income deprivation. Although research on the effects of father absence on child development is inconclusive, studies of the effects of father absence when coupled with family poverty are definitive.[85] A number of studies suggest that families in poverty are more likely to experience chronic stress resulting from

low income and low levels of social support, and are more likely to experience highly stressful life events.[86] Numerous studies have found poor academic achievement, problems in socio-emotional development, low self-esteem, and a host of behavioral problems to be strongly associated with poverty.[87] As Gadsden notes in her research, the legacy and culture of poverty in some communities may create an intergenerational sense of hopelessness about the ability to ever "make it."[88]

TABLE 6

Mean income of Families by Income Quintile, 1971 and 1991

	Lowest	2nd	3rd	4th	Highest
All Races					
Mean income, 1991	$9,734	23,105	35,851	51,997	95,530
Mean income, 1971*	$9,999	22,020	32,217	43,631	75,150
% change since 1971	-2.6	3.8	11.2	19.1	27.0
White					
Mean income, 1991	$11,407	24,997	37,773	59,913	98,313
Mean income, 1971*	$10,931	23,448	33,424	44,788	76,958
% change since 1971	4.3	6.6	13.0	20.4	27.7
Black					
Mean income, 1991	$4,369	11,594	21,585	35,022	65,286
Mean income, 1971*	$5,925	12,836	20,281	30,128	52,416
% change since 1971	-26.3	-9.7	6.4	16.2	24.6

* 1971 mean income is in 1991 dollars, calculated on the basis of the CPI-U-X1 inflation series.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-60, No. 180, Table B-7. Additional calculations by the Center for the Study of Social Policy.

TABLE 7

Median Income by Family Type and Race (in 1992 Dollars)

	1967	1970	1980	1990	1992	Increase 1967 92
Married Couple Families						
Black	22,626	26,552	31,696	36,265	34,196	51.1%
White	33,351	36,427	40,063	43,293	42,738	28.1%
Female-Headed Families						
Black	11,653	12,148	12,658	13,016	11,956	2.6%
White	18,857	19,547	20,300	20,962	20,962	6.7%

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, CPS Series P-60, "Money Income of Households, Families & Persons in the U.S." :1992, Unpublished Work Table F-5.

CONCLUSION

This report paints an alarming picture of the status of black males in American society. The gulf between the employment prospects for black males and those for white males is staggering, and growing larger. Black males have fewer opportunities in the job market, are employed far less frequently, and gain much less from their work effort than do their white counterparts. Fully 43 percent of black men of employment age were not in the labor force in 1993. For the diminishing number of black men who do work full-time, the rewards for doing so are less than for white men, as illustrated by the fact that the average earnings for a black male who is a college graduate are not much more than the average earnings for a white male with only a high school diploma.

Black male joblessness directly affects the financial security of the black family. The diminished economic condition of black males is a factor in the increasing number of black women who are raising children in single-parent households; and such families are likely to live in or near poverty. As the number of female-headed households has grown among blacks, the likelihood that a black child will grow up experiencing poverty has accelerated rapidly. Fully 46 percent of all black children are poor today, and 68 percent of black children in female-headed households live below the poverty line.

Bleak as is the economic picture, it is only part of a larger portrait of the increasing dislocation of black men from the mainstream of American society. The health of black men is worse than that of their white peers, particularly as health affects employment status. Over 8 percent of black males cannot work because of disabling conditions, compared to less than 4 percent of white men. Black males also face more severe substance abuse and mental health problems than white men. Educational achievement for black men is less on average than for white men. Despite substantial gains in the past twenty years in the number of black men finishing high school, comparatively few go on to college.

The sheer repetition of these trends is numbing, and often obscures the human tragedy that underlies them. The diminished prospects for black men are a blight on individual lives and an obstacle to the well-being of many communities. The resilience that abounds among the many black men who "make it," despite the odds, should not lure us into disregarding the lack of opportunities for those who do not. The potential consequences of their reality have grave repercussions for everyone.

The causes that account for the current circumstances of many black men lie deep in our nation's history and social fabric. Remedies will have to be equally profound. A rush to find simplistic and superficial solutions is only a slight improvement over the current posture of ignoring the situation. A laundry list of new federal and state programs is not what is needed, though governmental action is an essential part of the solution. Nor can the private sector alone be relied upon to redress these disparities; private enterprise by itself is clearly not providing the necessary rewards and equal opportunities for black males. Public sector leadership *must* be blended with changes in private and public institutions, including schools, job markets, *and* public and private colleges and universities, which are the main avenues for providing opportunities for everyone.

If the trends affecting black men are to be reversed, a new national agenda must be developed. Before that can happen, the people of this nation must recognize how fundamental the dislocation of black males from mainstream American economic life has become. We are losing not just one generation of black men, but many generations to come. Understanding the depth of the problem and its causes is the essential first step toward change. This report only scratches the surface of the information that must be compiled and absorbed in this process. There is much more that has to be understood.

Once the serious nature of the situation is realized, we must formulate an action agenda that combines public will

with private enterprise to alter the prospects for black men. An entire subgroup of Americans is being locked into economic segregation that is as egregious as segregation in housing, schools, and other public accommodations. Changing this course requires an array of solutions that is more powerful than the solutions brought to bear in the past. The outlines of that agenda can emerge only as the problem is recognized and discussed at the highest levels of national discourse as well as in every community where its effects are felt by individuals and families.

APPENDIX A

Policy Roundtable on Labor Force Participation and Family Formation

Abstracts of Commissioned Papers

Barbara C. Cleveland

Unwed Fathers and Paternity Establishment

Improved paternity establishment is at the core of child support enforcement. There are several points in the fatherhood continuum at which paternity can be established: during family planning decisions and prenatal care, at the birth of the child, during the postnatal period and beyond through adolescence. During these times fathers could become involved, yet are currently discouraged from doing so by predominately negative attitudes regarding their participation held by social and health service professionals.

Many family planning programs aimed at unwed teens are ineffective because they emphasize only birth control or AIDS education, failing to account for differences between teenage parents, and young men's attitudes toward sexuality and gender roles. Other experimental programs have enjoyed success by addressing broader issues in sexuality and education, emphasizing life options, decision making and the rights and responsibilities of parenting. These programs are "uniquely positioned" to involve both partners in decisions about family planning and pregnancy. During the prenatal period, services offered usually focus exclusively on mothers, and fathers often encounter barriers to their participation. Many social service professionals are not acquainted with the child support system or paternity establishment procedures, and are therefore not in a position to draw fathers in and advise them as to their rights and responsibilities.

Legally, paternity establishment is usually considered an "adversarial first step" in the child support enforcement process, a view which constructs a narrow view of fatherhood and submerges the social value of paternity establishment within a narrower economic one. Paternity establishment needs to be made a simple and positive occurrence unconnected to child support requirements. Hospital-based paternity establishment efforts have been successful

at working toward more aggressive and universal paternity establishment, recognizing that birth is a happy moment of positive interaction when fathers can be drawn in. Studies indicate that once young men are sure of their paternity, self esteem and community reputation work to keep them involved in child support. Often this support is offered in informal ways, consisting of in-kind support such as diapers and child care. This informal support is valued by mothers and highly visible within local communities, but not recognized by the child support system. Often, enforcement of official child support can force a father to reduce or eliminate informal support more visible within his community. Thus, official support enforcement can undermine fathers' support and non-financial involvement in children's lives. Official structures rarely recognize this support, and many mothers and fathers believe that active father presence can actually threaten the mothers' ability to obtain official benefits. These structures are inflexible at best for involving fathers and responding to the needs of their uneven lives, and often fathers who cannot afford to pay tend to drift away from their children, unadvised of their rights or the long term benefits of paternity establishment. Programs such as Public/Private Ventures' Young Unwed Fathers Project, which stress a broader conception of father engagement and do not require child support or paternity establishment for eligibility, have enjoyed success helping fathers negotiate a rigid bureaucratic structure and move toward paternity establishment.

This paper concludes that it is predominately a lack of knowledge which shapes the experience of young men and women at each point in the process of parenting. All along the paternity "continuum," there is a pronounced pattern of excluding fathers from involvement with mothers, children, support and decision making. Fathers who want to be involved are discouraged from doing so by a lack of information and negative attitudes on the part of service staff. Informal support systems have potential for involving fathers and solving visitation and support problems, particularly at positive moments such as birth. Official structures for paternity establishment and child support need to recognize and work with informal support networks to promote a broader and more positive construction of paternity.

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Vivian Gadsden

The Absence of Father: Effects on Children's Development and Family Functioning

Increasing numbers of American children are growing up in female headed households — 60 percent of US children will currently live in single parent households at one time in their lives. Poverty, a central feature of many of these families' lives, is key to any discussion of single parenting and its effects. This essay focuses on children in low-income, female-headed households and the effect single parenting has on children's socialization, cognitive development and family functioning. Specifically it asks three questions: What happens to children when they have access to only one parent with limited economic and human resources? What can be done to reduce the ravages of dysfunction and economic instability? And how does the resilience displayed by poor children mask problems associated with father absence?

Current policy is often developed around a normative model of the nuclear family. Recent studies, however, reveal great variations in the nature of family patterns, child-parent relations, male-female relationships and responsibilities for childbearing as communal work. Policy should shift its focus toward "family communities," or different collections of connected individuals responsible for children, as well as changes in male-female relationships and childrearing. In many poor, ethnic communities, the notion of kin, embodied by a community of multiple, concerned adults engaged in childrearing, is an historic strength that seems to improve the psychological functioning of children.

The characteristics of single parenting are still subject to debate and continuing research. Studies suggest that unmarried mothers experience more stress than married mothers, particularly economic stress. Teenage, never-married mothers experience particular difficulties, and are distinguished from the general population of single parents by their low educational attainment, social resources, potential earnings as well as the decreased likelihood of father participation and support. Many of the fathers of these women's children do not become involved due to their inability to make an adequate financial contribution and subsequent feeling of powerlessness. The effects of these fathers' absence are unclear, although studies have found that female-headed households are more likely to experience chronic stress in the form of low income and low levels of social support.

The problems facing such families are severe, particularly for black families who suffer due to poverty and the racist and discriminatory practices of the labor market, education and policy implementation. Poverty is the single most important factor in these families' disorganization — it is both a cause and result of single parent homes. Children exposed to chronic poverty face severe limits in all domains of life choices, and the expectation that children will rise above these odds is unrealistic. When poverty is combined with father absence, children's abilities to chart their futures are inhibited by a lack of role models. This lack can lead to poor educational achievement due to acting out behavior or lack of self control, as well as difficulties in socialization, particularly into sex-role identity self esteem and social competence. These effects are particularly insidious for African American boys who already suffer from negative stereotypes. Children learn intergenerationally to reproduce behaviors which, although normal in their immediate environment, are not productive outside that environment. As a result, when parents possess a negative self image, they transmit this self image to their children, reproducing maladaptive behaviors.

Research and policy need, then, to construct frameworks that act primarily in favor of children, and provide a broad set of options for including caring adults in the lives of children and reducing poverty, rather than critiquing family forms. The implementation of policies can be

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built upon the premise of "kin" as a comprehensive family form of biological and non-biological supports. Policymakers need to assume that a functioning family is one in which there are ample human and economic resources for parents and children. They need to promote a "culture of survival" by empowering parents to give support to and develop efficacy in their children.

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Robert Hill

The Labor Force and Income Status of African American Males: Policy Implications

African-American males continue to experience disproportionate levels of social and economic distress, including higher rates of school suspensions/expulsions and dropouts, special education placement, delinquency, joblessness, out of wedlock fathering, and substance abuse. Although they do not start out at a disadvantage, they encounter "blocked opportunities" which constrain their access to resources and often lead them to resort to deviant strategies to obtain their goals. For the majority of African-American men, institutional racism and structural discrimination work to their economic and social disadvantage. Institutional racism promotes negative images of African Americans which contribute to a larger "patterned evasion" embodied in the discriminatory practices of institutions such as redlining, zoning and de facto segregation. "Structural discrimination" results from disparate but linked societal forces and social policies that work implicitly against African-Americans. These forces include structural unemployment resulting from technological shifts away from low skilled jobs which disproportionately, if unintentionally, affects black workers. In recent years, the jobless gap between black and white men has widened to 2.6% in 1989, a figure which actually underrepresents the scope of black unemployment. The unofficial jobless rate for black youth in 1992 was 44%, and black men who are employed earn only about two-thirds of what white men earn, experience a higher rate of work disabilities and possess generally lower occupational status.

A range of public policies are effectively discriminatory, such as: retirement age in social security (blacks have lower life expectancy); public assistance which focuses more on mothers and discourages resident fathers; AFDC-UP eligibility requirements which exclude fathers with sporadic work history who are less likely to reside with families; discrimination in foster care placement; census undercount which affects inner city funding. The policy implications of these findings suggest the need for a holistic approach to African-American men and their families. Legal remedies should be pursued to combat structural or unintentional discrimination. Comprehensive family policies which assist black males in relation to families should be implemented along with a reformation of policies which work at cross purposes with one another. JTPA standards can be amended to include subgroups most in need of training like young fathers. Child support policies should consider in-kind contributions, link support to employment assistance, and stop the "cashing out" of support payment toward welfare debts. Social Security benefits should be determined in line with life expectancy. The regressive AFDC-UP eligibility criteria should be eliminated.

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African American Males in the Criminal Justice System

On an average day in America, one of every four African American men ages 20-29 was either in prison, on probation or parole. According to Alfred Blumstein and Elizabeth Graddy, 51% of all non white males would be arrested and charged with a felony sometime in his lifetime. A study in Jacksonville in 1993 concluded that 76% of all African American adult males could expect to be jailed at least once before reaching age 36. These current statistics illustrate the disproportionate number of African American males entangled within the criminal justice system, challenging notions put forth by conservatives that individuals are either criminals or not, and that criminals comprise a small minority of the population. Such notions cannot be sustained at a time when the nation increasingly relies on the criminal justice system to deal with a wide array of social problems.

Patterns of arrest and conviction in the criminal justice system are racially discriminatory. The rate of long term imprisonment has increased as the proportion of minority arrests has increased, and the incarceration rates of whites and blacks are widely divergent. Whites are generally able to cut "better deals" than blacks, and black offenders are more likely to be sentenced as habitual offenders. This pattern of discrimination has increased with the recent "war on drugs" which has targeted African-Americans in disproportionate numbers. Part of the problem is a "hostile procedure of law" which pursues punishment against an offender while claiming to rehabilitate him, a philosophy which creates problems in communities as delinquent patterns are reproduced intergenerationally. As exposure to criminal justice becomes a black male rite of passage, the ethics of the correctional facility increasingly permeate those of the street as youths and communities become desensitized to violence and feel personal impotence and hopelessness.

In order to address these problems, policies need to inject cities with massive funding and rebuild urban infrastructures through adequate funds for family support through Head Start, nutrition, education, employment and support payments; a decreased emphasis on more police, scrapping mandatory sentences and a "just desserts" mentality; confronting racism in the criminal justice system; and the diversion of young offenders into alternative supervision, job training and employment programs. Such reforms are unlikely, however.

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Child Support Enforcement and Deteriorating Employment Prospects of Young Black Males

Recent measures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of child support enforcement are on a collision course with the declining labor force participation of young black males. In recent decades, rising fertility among young unmarried couples has contributed to dramatic increases in mother-only families, child poverty and AFDC caseloads. AFDC policy discussions have tended to focus on unwed mothers, but should also turn their attention to unwed fathers. Young black unwed fathers generally have poorer economic prospects, lower earnings, and educational attain-ment than other young men. The growth of the AFDC caseload caused the government to become more involved in child support enforcement, a move that has led to inequities in the child support system as a result of attempts to recoup AFDC payments. Changes in child support enforcement, while eliminating presumptive guidelines, increasing paternity establishment rates, and overcoming previous barriers to welfare reform, have not altered the regressive nature of child support awards and the tendency of never-married mothers to receive comparatively little child support (only 24% compared with 79% married and 77% separated), even though these mothers are the major contributors to the AFDC caseload-increase. Thus, many single parent families are left in poverty.

As the IV-D system evolves, it must become tougher but more flexible. Since 1975, child support enforcement has been driven by the specter of the "deadbeat dad." Increases in paternity establishment resulting from in-hospital paternity establishment will draw more young black men into the system, but because of recent trends in wages and labor force participation, these men will not be able to pay adequate support. Child support enforcement agencies need a policy that imposes sanctions on unmotivated parents, while accommodating parents who simply cannot pay. Child support enforcement needs, then, to be linked to education and training services for these non-custodial fathers, such as: classroom or on the job training, work experience, basic and remedial education, job search assistance. These services could be provided through an expansion of eligibility for existing JOBS and JTPA programs, which currently exclude non-custodial parents with sporadic work histories. Recent demonstration projects aimed at non-custodial fathers, such as the Young Unwed Fathers Project and Parents' Fair Share, have demonstrated the effectiveness of linking child support enforcement and employment services and fatherhood development curriculums. The experience of these demonstrations counters widely held stereotypes of absent fathers as uncaring and unwilling to contribute support to children. There is a need to balance enforcement and employment and training, and consider possible inequities in system.

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Unemployment, Mental Health and Substance Abuse: Joblessness and African American Men

The poverty and racism that many African-Americans live with has created emotional and psychological adjustment problems within this population. Unemployment is now rampant among young African American males; a trend which affects these men's mental health, leading to substance abuse, depression and low self esteem. Changes in the labor market from manufacturing to service sector jobs have disproportionately affected African American males, and residential desegregation has induced middle class black flight from the inner cities, leaving few role models for legitimate success in these communities. These changes have been accompanied by a rise in family disruption and out of wedlock births. The effects of male joblessness on family structure affects the supervision of children and youth in these communities, and can be directly tied to an increase in crime and delinquency, gang activity, drug trafficking and youth homicide. High levels of unemployment as a result of the loss of jobs has increased the stress in the African American family, contributing to an epidemic of crime and violence, depression and other mental disorders.

As a result of these changes, many young African American men find themselves without productive work to do, resorting to criminal activity or drugs and alcohol as a means to relieve anxiety and depression. Substance abuse is now a major problem in African American communities, often masking other mental health problems and affecting interpersonal relationships, self esteem and socioeconomic status. In contrast to young white men, whose mental health problems are often treated therapeutically, the mental disorders of African American men are often treated punitively through the criminal justice system, a practice which exacerbates their problems and further limits their future life options.

Policy makers interested in welfare reform should consider the following measures: the provision of substance abuse treatment and mental health services that address the needs of entire families; amendment of the 1988 Family Support Act to incorporate incentives for child support and development by fathers; and increased education about racism and poverty.

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ENDNOTES

1 U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, Vol. 41, No. 1, January 1994, Table 3, pp. 184-186.

This report shows 5,838,000 black men aged 16-64 employed in 1993. This number was divided by the total universe of black men aged 16-64 (10,719,349) to get the percentage employed of 54.5 percent. There were 54,579,000 white men employed between the ages of 16-64, which when divided by the total universe of white men age 16-64 (70,369,217) yields a percentage of 77.6.

2 U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Manpower Data Center, "Distribution of Active Duty Forces by Service, Rank, Sex, and Ethnic Group," March 31, 1994.

These figures are not broken down by age, but by definition, few if any men under age 16 and over 64 are included in the military. According to these data, the total number of black men in active duty was 282,898 which was then divided by the universe of black men age 16-64 (10,719,349) to produce the percentage of 2.5. The total number of white men in active duty was 1,038,386 which was then divided by the universe of white men age 16-64 (70,369,217) to produce the percentage of 1.5.

3 U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, Vol. 41, No. 1, January 1994, Table 3, pp. 184-186.

This report shows 947,000 black men aged 16-64 officially unemployed in 1993. This number was divided by the total universe of black men aged 16-64 (10,719,349) to get the percentage unemployed of 8.8 percent. There were 3,608,000 white men unemployed between the ages of 16-64, which when divided by the total universe of white men age 16-64 (70,369,217) yields a percentage of 5.3. These percentages are somewhat different from the official unemployment rates generally found in the literature and the press because they use as their denominator the entire universe of black men age 16-64. Traditional unemployment rates use only a portion of this population as their denominator: they use only the civilian non-institutional population which excludes those in the military, in prisons and those not found in the decennial census.

4 U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, Vol. 41, No. 1, January 1994, Table 3, pp. 184-186.

This report shows 2,206,000 black men aged 16-64 out of the labor force in 1993. This number was divided by the total universe of black men aged 16-64 (10,719,349) to get the percentage out of the labor force of 20.6 percent. There were 9,089,000 white men out of the labor force between the ages of 16-64, which when divided by the total universe of white men age 16-64 (70,369,217) yields a percentage of 12.9.

5 U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics of the U.S.*, CP-1-1, November 1992, Table 35.

This document shows there were 469,451 black men and 466,831 white men of all ages in correctional facilities in 1990. Unpublished data from the Census Bureau shows that approximately 99 percent of the total population in correctional facilities fall between the ages of 16-64, so we can use these numbers as close approximations of the number of men aged 16-64 in prison. Dividing the number of black men in prisons, 469,451 by the universe of black men 16-64 (10,719,349) produces a percentage of 4.4. The 466,831 white men in correctional facilities constituted less than one percent (.66 percent) of all white men (70,369,217).

6 Robinson, J.G., Bashir, and Ahmed (1993). Estimation of Population Coverage in the 1990 United States Census Based Demographic Analysis. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 88, No. 423, pp. 1061-1079. The undercount analysis is based on estimates of births, deaths, immigration and emigration.

7 Robinson, Bashir, and Ahmed (1993). Estimation of Population Coverage in the 1990 United States Census Based Demographic Analysis, *op. cit.*

The 996,000 black men aged 16-64 not counted in the 1990 census is divided by

the universe of black men aged 16-64 (10,719,349) to get a 9.3 percent undercount. The 1,498,000 white men aged 16-64 not counted in the 1990 census is divided by the universe of white men (70,369,217) to get a 2.1 percent undercount.

9 Robinson, Bashir, and Ahmed (1988). Perspectives on the Completeness of Coverage of Population in the United States Decennial Census. Unpublished paper presented at the April 1988 meeting of the Population Association of America, New Orleans, LA. See also Kearny, A.T. (1993). Coverage Improvement from Experimental Residence Questions. Unpublished paper. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

A large share of the Census undercount of black males is believed to be comprised of men who have unstable or transient household attachments. Other uncounted males may "unofficially" reside with low-income women who are receiving public assistance and may be unwilling to report the presence of men in their homes.

9 Hill, R.B. (1993). The Labor Force and Income Status of African American Males: Policy Implications. Paper presented at the Policy Roundtable on Labor Force Participation and Family Formation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Social Policy and the Philadelphia Children's Network, November, 1993, Washington, D.C.; and, Hill, R.B. (1981). *Economic Policies and Black Progress*. Washington, D.C.: National Urban League Research Department.

10 Wilson, J.W. (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press; and, *1992 Economic Report of the President*, Table B-41.

11 Hill, R.B. (1993). The Labor Force and Income Status of African American Males: Policy Implications, *op. cit.*; and, Sum A. and Fogg, N. (1988). The Changing Economic Fortunes of Young Black Men in America. *The Black Scholar*, Jan-March, 1988, pp. 47-55.

12 Sum A. and Fogg, N. (1988). The Changing Economic Fortunes of Young Black Men in America. *The Black Scholar*, Jan-March, 1988, pp. 47-55.

13 Reich, R.B. (1991). *The Work of Nations*, New York: Vintage Books, pp. 208-224; and, Johnston, W.B. and Packer, A.E. (1987). *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century*, Indianapolis: Hudson Institute, pp. 29-29.

14 Reich, R.B. (1991). *The Work of Nations, op. cit.*; and, Johnston, W.B. and Packer, A.E. (1987). *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century, op. cit.*

15 *1992 Economic Report of the President, op. cit.*

Workers in this category increased from 9 percent to 17 percent from 1968 to 1988.

16 Kasarda, J.D., (1988). America's Urban Dilemma, in *The New Metropolitan Era: A World of Giant Cities*, Dogan, M. and Kasarda, J.D. (Eds.), New York: Russell Sage, p. 70.

17 U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1992 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Table 5.

The total number of immigrants for the period from 1981 to 1990 is 7.34 million; for the period from 1931 to 1970 the cumulative total is 7.40 million.

18 U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1992 Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Table 8.

Of the total of 1,536,500 immigrants who entered the U.S. in 1990, 679,000 were from Mexico and 146,200 were from Central America. Just over 1 million of the total were from Latin America and the Caribbean. Some portion of this rise can be attributed to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which granted amnesty to undocumented persons who had been in the U.S. since 1982, and to certain migrant farm workers.

19 *1992 Economic Report of the President, op. cit.*, p. 88.

20 Fix, M. & Passel, J.S. (1994). *Immigration and Immigrants: Setting the Record Straight*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

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21 Bean, F.D., Fossett, M.A., & Park, K.T. (1993). Labor Market Dynamics and the Effects of Immigration on African Americans. In Gerald Jaynes (ed.) *Blacks, Immigration, and Race Relations*. New Haven: Yale University. Cited in Fix, M. & Passell, J.S. (1994).

22 Altonji, J.G. & Card, D. (1991). The Effects of Immigration on the Labor Market Outcomes of Less-skilled natives. In John M. Abowd & Richard B. Freeman (eds.) *Immigration, Trade, and the Labor Market*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Cited in Fix, M. & Passel, J.S. (1994).

23 Kirschenman, J. & Neckerman, K.M. (1989). We'd Love to Hire Them, But, *op. cit.*: The Meaning of Race for Employers. In Christopher Jencks & Paul E. Peterson (eds.) *The Urban Underclass*. Washington, DC.: The Brookings Institution. Cited in Fix, M. & Passel, J.S. (1994).

24 Hughes, M.A. and Sternberg, J. (1993). *The New Metropolitan Reality: Where the Rubber Meets the Road in Anti-Poverty Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, pp. 10-16.

Data used in this study refers to central and outer postal zones in the 60 largest Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (P.M.S.A.), using a data set developed by Anita Summers and Peter Linneman of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

25 U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics, United States*, Tables 6, 53, 103.

In the northeast, 74 percent of blacks versus 24 percent of whites lived in central cities; in the Midwest these figures are 77 percent of blacks and 23 percent of whites. Although it is difficult to distinguish between "urban" and "suburban" in summary Census data, these figures serve as useful comparative proxies.

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27 McBay, S. (1992). The Condition of African-American Education. In *The State of Black America 1992*. NY: National Urban League, Inc.

28 U.S. Bureau of the Census (1992). *School Enrollment-Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, October 1990*, CPS Series P-20, No. 460, Table A-4.

29 Children's Defense Fund, (1993). *Progress and Peril: Black Children in America*, Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-20, No. 451, Table 18.

30 Children's Defense Fund, (1993). *Progress and Peril, op. cit.*

31 Ferguson, R.F. (1991). Paying for Public Education: New Evidence on How and Why Money Matters. *Harvard Journal on Legislation*, Vol. 28 (Summer): pp.465-98; and Ferguson, R.F. (1991). Racial Patterns in how School and Teacher Quality Affect Achievement and Earnings. *Challenge: A Journal of Research on Black Men*, Vol. 2: pp. 1-35.

32 U.S. Bureau of the Census (1992). *School Enrollment-Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, October 1990*, CPS Series P-20, No. 460, Table 3; and, Children's Defense Fund (1993). *Progress and Peril, op. cit.*

33 National Assessment of Educational Progress (September, 1993). Educational Testing Service, unpublished data.

34 Miller, J. (1993). African-American Males in the Criminal Justice System. Paper presented at the Policy Roundtable on Labor Force Participation and Family Formation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Social Policy and the Philadelphia Children's Network, November 1993, Washington, D.C.

35 Mauer, M. (1994). A Generation Behind Bars: Black Males and the Criminal Justice System. *The American Black Male: His Present Status and His Future*, R.G. Majors and J.U. Gordon (eds.), Chicago, IL: Nelson Hall, and Mauer, M. (1990). *Young Black Men and The Criminal Justice System: A Growing National Problem*, Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project.

36 National Center on Institutions and Alternatives (1992). Hobbling a Generation: African American Males in the District of Columbia's Criminal Justice System, as referenced in Miller, J. (1993). African American Males in the Criminal Justice System. Paper presented at the Policy Roundtable on Labor Force Participation and Family Formation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Social Policy and the Philadelphia Children's Network, November, 1993, Washington, D.C.

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38 Washington Post, Population Explosion in Prisons, June 2, 1994, A3.

39 Miller, J. (1993). African American Males in the Criminal Justice System, *op. cit.*

40 Miller, J. (1993). African American Males in the Criminal Justice System, *op. cit.*

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43 Greenfield, H.I. (1993). *Invisible, Outlawed, and Untaxed: America's Underground Economy.* New Haven, CT: Praeger Publishers; and, Henry, S. (1982). The working unemployed: perspectives on the informal economy and unemployment. *Sociological Review,* 30, pp. 460-477.

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45 Anderson, E. (1976). *A Place on the Corner.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press; Anderson, E. (1980). Some Observations of Black Youth Employment. In *Youth Employment and Public Policy,* Anderson, E. and Sawhill, I. (eds.), New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

46 Hagan, J. (1993). Structural and Cultural Disinvestment and the New Ethnographies of Poverty and Crime. *Contemporary Sociology,* 22(3), pp. 327-332.

47 National Center for Health Statistics, US Department of Health and Human Services, "Health United States, 1993," Tables 42, 48, and 51.

48 Wilson, J. (1993). Unemployment, Mental Health, and Substance Abuse: Joblessness and African-American Men. Paper was presented at the Policy Roundtable on Labor Force Participation and Family Formation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Social Policy and the Philadelphia Children's Network, November, 1993, Washington, D.C.

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51 Sum, et al. (1993). Health Insurance Coverage Rates, the Incidence of Health Problems, and the Labor Market Status of Young African American Men in the U.S., *op. cit.* This statistic is based on the civilian noninstitutional population.

52 National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "Health, United States, 1993," Tables 42, 48, and 51.

53 Sum, Heliotis and Fogg (1993). Health Insurance Coverage Rates, the Incidence of Health Problems, and the Labor Market Status of Young African American Men in the U.S.

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56 Majors, R. and Mancini-Billson, J. (1992). *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America*. New York: Lexington Books, as quoted in Wilson, J. (1993). Unemployment, Mental Health, and Substance Abuse: Joblessness and African American Men, *op. cit.*

The statistics presented here reflect age-adjusted rates.

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61 Sum, A.M. and Fogg, W.N. (1990). The Changing Economic Fortunes of Young Black Men in America, *op. cit.*

62 Sum, A.M. and Fogg, W.N. (1990). The Changing Economic Fortunes of Young Black Men in America, *op. cit.*

It is important to note that although mean annual real earnings have risen for all young men since 1982, they still remain below the 1973 earnings peak, particularly among young black males.

63 Sum et al. (1991). The Changing Fortunes of America's Young Black Men: An assessment of their labor market progress and problems over the 1973-1989 period, *op. cit.*

These differences among young black men by years of schooling reflect a variety of forces such as differences in employment rates, annual weeks and hours of employment, and mean hourly earnings. It also may reflect the number of men who reported no annual earnings; even when this was factored out, however, mean real earnings dropped significantly.

64 Sum et al. (1991). The Changing Fortunes of America's Young Black Men: An assessment of their labor market progress and problems over the 1973-1989 period.

65 U.S. Census Bureau, CPS Series P-60, March, 1993. Because low earnings tend to reduce or forestall family formation, the number of black male workers with low earnings who actually lived in poverty was less than the percentage that had zero earnings.

66 One important caveat for analysis of income quintiles over time is that these figures do not account for economic mobility, that is, the ability of a given family to move from one quintile to another. In other words, a change in the income of a quintile as a whole does not necessarily reflect the trends that occur at the level of individual families.

67 U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-60, No. 180, Table B-7.

A common measure of overall income inequality is the Gini coefficient, where 0 represents perfect income equality and 1 represents perfect inequality. The 1991 Gini ratio for all families was 0.397; for blacks it was 0.448. (The 1971 ratios were 0.355 for all families and 0.385 for blacks).

68 U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-60, No. 180, Table B-7. Percentage changes from 1971 to 1991 were calculated in constant dollars using the CPII-U-XI price deflator.

69 U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-20, No. 180, Table B-8.

The typical family in the lowest quintal of white families lived at 112 percent of the poverty standard. This percentage is converted from average income-to-poverty ratios, which are calculated on the basis of mean income and mean poverty thresholds for each quintal.

70 U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-60, No. 185, *Poverty in the United States: 1992*, Table 1.

71 Darity, W. and Myers, S. (1992). Racial Earning Inequity Into the 21st Century. In *The State of Black America 1992*. NY: National Urban League, Inc.

72 See, inter alia, William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 63-106 and passim.; Gerald D. Jaynes and Robin M. Williams, eds. *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (Washington: National Academy Press, 1989), pp. 301-312 and passim.; Gerald D. Jaynes, "The Labor Market Status of Black Americans 1939-1985," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol 4, No. 4 (Fall 1990), pp. 9-24; David T. Ellwood and Jonathan Crane, "Family Change Among Black Americans: What Do We Know?," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Fall 1990), pp. 65-84; and Robert I. Lerman and Theodora Ooms eds., *Young Unwed Fathers: Changing Roles and Emerging Policies* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

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74 U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Abstract of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, Series D-46 and 94; U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-20, No. 464, *The Black Population in the United States: 1991*, Table E; and U.S. Bureau of Census, CPS Series P-20, No. 471, Tables E and F.

75 Sum et al. (1991). The Changing Fortunes of America's Young Black Men: An assessment of their labor market progress and problems over the 1973-1989 period, *op. cit.*

76 Sum and Fogg (1990). The Changing Economic Fortunes of Young Black Men in America, *op. cit.*

This research indicates that real annual earnings of young black men are more strongly correlated with their marital status than any employment variable over the past 15 years.

77 Wilson, J.W. (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy, op. cit.*

78 U.S. Bureau of Census, CPS Series P-20, No. 468, *Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1992*, Table A.

79 Lerman, R.I. and Ooms, T.J. (1993). Evolution of Unwed Fatherhood as a Policy Issue. In *Young Unwed Fathers*, R. Lerman and T. Ooms (eds.), Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, pp. 1-24; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1993*, Table 101.

80 Gadsden, V. (1993). The Absence of Father: Effects on Child Development and Family Functioning. Paper presented at the Policy Roundtable on Labor Force Participation and Family Formation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Social Policy and the Philadelphia Children's Network, November, 1993, Washington, D.C.

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